

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3892
INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, NOVEMBER 26-
DECEMBER 2

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG INTRODUCED IN PLENARY
DECEMBER 2 COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE COSPONSORED BY ALL ALLIES AND STRONGLY
SUPPORTED BY NEUTRALS. AT SAME TIME, FRENCH REP INTRODUCED
SECOND MAJOR WESTERN INITIATIVE, A "SKELETON" OF CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT THAT IS INTENDED TO GIVE FORM AND IMPETUS TO FURTHER
DRAFTING EFFORTS. THESE TWO INITIATIVES, AND FACT THAT
SOVIETS RESPONDED TO FORMER WITH INTERESTING TACTIC OF
HAVING THEIR ALLIES INTRODUCE THEIR OWN, LIMITED HUMAN RIGHTS
PROPOSALS, MAY FACILITATE WORK IN WEEKS LEADING UP TO
CHRISTMAS RECESS. OTHERWISE, HOWEVER, CONCRETE DEVELOPMENTS
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WERE LIMITED IN WEEK THAT WAS CUT TO THREE WORKING DAYS BY
YUGOSLAV HOLIDAY. BASKETS ONE AND THREE CONTINUED FIRST READING
OF NEW PROPOSALS WHILE MORE "BUSINESS-LIKE" BASKET TWO HAD
ALREADY MOVED INTO INFORMAL DRAFTING. FOLLOW-UP SPEAKERS
SPARRED ON THEORETICAL ISSUES WHILE MEDITERRANEAN DID NOT EVEN
HAVE A MEETING DUE TO MALTESE AMBASSADOR'S ABSENCE. END
SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY--DECEMBER 2 SESSION PROVIDED HIGH SPOT OF WEEK. IN MARATHON SESSION, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG INTRODUCED ON BEHALF OF FULL NATO, EC-9 MEMBERSHIP COMPREHENSIVE NEW PROPOSAL REAFFIRMING COMMITMENT OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE. KEY NEUTRAL DELS GAVE STRONG SUPPORT TO U.S.-ORIGINATED PROPOSAL THAT THAD BEEN IN WORKS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES THOSE INITIAL TACTIC OF VIETUALLY IGNORING ALLIED PROPOSAL AND INTRODUCING THREE PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN ON SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENTS: RIGHT TO WORK, RIGHTS OF WOMEN, AND UN COVENANTS. FRENCH REP ALSO USED SESSION TO INTRODUCE "SEKLETON" DOCUMENT WHICH ALLIES SEE AS PROVIDING BASIS FOR ORGANIZATION AND DRAFTING OF MEETING'S CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. NEUTRAL DELS WELCOMED DOCUMENT WHICH THEY INDICATED COULD SPUR DRAFTING WORK THAT IS STILL IN PRELIMINARY PHASE IN VARIOUS SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES. EASTERN DELS CALLED FRENCH PAPER INTERESTING AND PROMISED FURTHER STUDY.

2. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES)--WORKING BODY RESUMED FIRST READING OF NEW PROPOSALS, COVERING HALF DOZEN WITH SIX MORE TO GO INCLUDING FOUR HUMAN RIGHTS TEXTS INTORDUCED IN PLENARY DECEMBER 2. THERE WERE NO SURPRISES. EASTERN DELS REMAINED COOL BUT NOT IRREVOCABLY HOSTILE TO KEY ALLIED PROPOSAL ON ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS AND PRIVATE GROUPS

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IN IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS. SOVIET REP MADE POINT OF CALLING NORWEGIAN REP'S ATTENTIO AT RECEPTION TO CAREFUL, RESTRAINED SOVIET ATTITUDE ON PROPOSAL. ALLIED REPS MADE EFFORT TO RECIPROCATE ON MOST EASTERN PROPOSALS EXCEPT FOR ONE OLD-FASHIONED GDR PROPOSAL THAT SOUNDED TOCSIN AGAINST ALLEGED REVIVED NAZI AND REVANCHIST DANGERS. ALLIED REPS ALSO EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR YUGOSLAV IDEA OF INCLUDING PASSAGE ON NATIONAL MINORITIES IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AND U.S. REP NOTED THAT INTRODUCTION OF THREE EASTERN-SPONSORED HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSALS SUGGESTED GROWING CONSENSUS THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MUST HAVE PROMINENT PLACE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. BRITISH DEL HAS BEGUN IN-FORMAL WORK IN NATO CAUCUS ON IMPLEMENTATION EXPERIENCE LANGUAGE FOR BOTH PRINCIPLES AND CMBS THAT MIGHT BE PROPOSED FOR REPORT TO PLENARY DECEMBER 16 WHEN, ACCORDING TO YELLOW BOOK, WORKING BODIES GO OUT OF EXISTENCE. WORKING BODY WILL CONTINUE WITH PRINCIPLES DECEMBER 5 AND THEN CONCENTRATE ON CBMS FOR REMAINDER OF WEEK.

3. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- FRENCH REP TOLD NATO CAUCUS THAT PARIS REMAINS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO SIVET MANEUVER CEILING

PROPOSAL. MOST OTHER ALLIES INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO
MAKE SOME POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIET PROPOSAL IF SOVIETS
COULD BE INDUCED TO MAKE CONCESSION ON OTHER CBM MATTERS
OF INEREST TO WEST.

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4. BASKET TWO -- WORKING BODYB LTICH IS FURTHER ADVANCED
THAN OTHER BASKETS, CONTINUED INFORMAL DRAFTING.
MODALITIES (IMMEDIATE ADJOURNMENT OF FORMAL WORKING BODY,
TURNING DOWN COUNTRY-NAME PLACARDS AND "GIVE-AND-TAKE"
INTERVENTIONS) HAVE BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED AND ARE EXPECTED TO
BE EMPLOYED UNTIL ALL PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN REVIEWED. THERE IS A
GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT SMALLER AND EVEN MORE INFORMAL GROUPS
WILL MEET AT SOME POINT TO PUT TEXTS ACTUALLY ON PAPER AND TO
BEGIN INEVITABLE INTRA-BASKET TRADE-OFFS. EASTERN DELS HAVE REACTED
FORCEFULLY TO WESTERN CRITICISMS, WHICH THEY CLAIM ARE ATTEMPTS
TO EMASCULATE THEIR PROPOSALS, WHILE MAINTAINING THAT TRADE
LIBERALIZATION AND FULL APPLICATION OF MFN ARE AT THE HEART OF TRADE
DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. AT SAME TIME, EASTERN DELS HAVE CRITICIZED
WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR ADDRESSING "ARTIFICIAL" PROBLEMS AND HAVE
CHARACTERIZED THEM AS INSIGNIFICANT. IN ADDRESSING EASTERN PROPOSALS
WESTERN EFFORTS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AT PROVIDING COMPROMISE
LANGUAGE INDICATING WHICH PORTIONS OF EASTERN PROPOSALS ARE UN-
ACCEPTABLE. DEFENSE OF WESTERN PROPOSALS HAS BEEN
BASED ON PREMISE THAT PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE ATTEMPTS TO RE-WRITE
FINAL ACT BUT TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROVISIONS BETTER.

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5. MEDITERRANEAN -- ONLY SCHEDULED MEETING OF WORKING BODY WAS POSTPONED AT REQUEST OF MALTESE AMBASSADOR WHO HAD TO LEAVE TOWN. SPANISH REP ADVISED US INFORMALLY THAT HIS DEL IS HOPEFUL

SOME FACE-SAVING COMPROMISE CAN BE FOUND FOR MALTESE THAT WOULD INVOLVE NARROWLY-MANDATED EXPERT GROUP ON BASKET TWO-TYPE QUESTIONS AT WHICH NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WOULD MAKE ONLY LIMITED CONTRIBUTIONS. WE AND CANADIAN AND NORWEGIAN REPS INDICATED TO SPANISH THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ADEQUATE JUSTIFICATION FOR EXPERT GROUP.

6. BASKET THREE -- INFORMAL AGREEMENT TO LIMIT DISCUSSION OF EACH NEW PROPOSAL TO 45 MINUTES, TO COMBINE DISCUSSION OF SIMILAR PROPOSALS AND LIMIT SPEECHES TO FIVE MINUTES, HELPED TO SPEED PACE OF WORK. ALTHOUGH EASTERN DELS CONTINUED DELAYING TACTICS NOVEMBER 30, REALIZATION THAT TIME IS INDEED SHORT, EVEN BY THEIR TIMETABLE, MAY ACCOUNT FOR RESTRAINT EXHIBITED IN END OF WEEK SESSIONS. WORKING BODY WAS ABLE TO COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF LAST EIGHT INFORMATIONAL PROPOSALS AND BEGIN DELIGATION ON FIRST CULTURAL PROPOSAL. IN NATO CAUCUS, DECISION WAS TAKEN TO PUSH FOR FORMATION OF INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK IN ATTEMPT TO PROGRESS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE BY DECEMBER 16 CUT-OFF OF WORKING BODY. UK DEL IS PREPARING SYNOPTIC NON-PAPER FOR USE SHOULD EAST AGREE TO INFORMAL GROUP. IN PRELIMINARY CONTACTS, SOVIET REP HAS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO MEET IN INFORMAL GROUP BUT AT LATER DATE THAN ENVISAGED BY NATO REPS. GIVEN GENERAL SOVIET ATTITUDE, HOWEVER, NATO DELS ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT INFORMAL GROUP WILL MOVE SWIFTLY.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- DURING WEEK OTHERWISE GIVEN OVER TO TEDIOUS PHILOSOPHIZING BY ROMANIAN AND SWISS DELS ON NATURE OF EXPERTS GROUPS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF "WIDER FOLLOW-UP", GDR REP OUTLINED WARSAW PACT VIEWS ON BASIC FOLLOW-UP ISSUES. HE ADVOCATED SHORT

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PREPARATORY MEETING PRIOR TO NEXT BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING IN ORDER TO ADJUST YELLOW-BOOK PROCEDURES IN LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE AT BELGRADE. GDR REP EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A "LENGTHY BREAK" BETWEEN PREPARATORY AND MAIN MEETINGS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE DELEGATIONS WITH NECESSARY TIME FOR PREPARATION AND CONSULTATIONS. REPEATING STANDARD SOVIET THEME, HE STRESSED THAT MULTILATERAL PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION TRANSCENDS BELGRADE-TYPE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS AND EXPERTS

GROUPS AND SHOULD INCLUDE SUCH ACTIVITIES AS SPECIAL CONSULTATIONS, SYMPOSIA AND SEMINARS. GDR REP STRESSED THAT PREFERENCE OF HIS DEL

WAS THAT SITE OF BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE IN "NON-ENGAGED, NON-COMMITTED" STATES AND NOT IN BLOC-STATES. OTHER FORMS OF FOLLOW UP, HOWEVER, COULD BE HELD IN OTHER STATES. HE SAID IT WAS STILL TOO EARLY TO DETERMINE WHETHER TIME INTERVAL BETWEEN HELSINKI AND BELGRADE HAS BEEN SUITABLE OR WHETHER IT SHOULD BE CHANGED.

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8. SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON NATURE AND MODALITIES OF NEXT PREPARATORY AND BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS SHOULD BEGIN IN EARNEST NEXT WEEK WHEN DANISH DEL ON BEHALF OF EC-9 WILL TABLE ITS WORKING PAPER OUTLINING PROPOSED FOLLOW-UP SECTION IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

9. COMMENT: DEVELOPMENTS THIS WEEK, PARTICULARLY DECEMBER 2 PLENARY, MAY HAVE CREATED PRECONDITIONS FOR NEW PHASE OF NEGOTIATION. BY RESPONDING TO U.S.-ORIGINATED HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSAL NOT WITH VITUPERATION OR COUNTER-PROPOSALS ON, SAY, INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, BUT WITH THEIR OWN LIMITED HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSALS, SOVIETS MAY HAVE OPENED UP TACTICAL SITUATION IN WHICH IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT GETTING SUBSTANTIAL HUMAN RIGHTS LANGUAGE INTO CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. INTRODUCTION AT LONG-LAST OF FRENCH "SKELETON" MAY GIVE GREATER INPETUS AND FOCUS TO EFFORTS TO PULL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT INTO AT LEAST RUDIMENTARY FORM BY CHRISTMAS BREAK. DANISH PAPER WITH EC-9 IDEAS ON FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MODALITIES THAT WILL BE INTRODUCED DECEMBER 6 MAY GIVE SOME FORM TO WHAT HAVE BEEM UNTIL NOW RATHER FREE-FLOWING DISCUSSIONS. ALSO, NNA HAVE TOLD US THEY ARE DEVELOPING OWN "COMPROMISE" VERSION OF CONCLUDING

DOCUMENT. WORKING BODIES, HOWEVER, WITH EXCEPTION OF BASKET
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TWO, ARE BADLY PRESSED FOR TIME IN WHICH TO FINISH FIRST READING OF
NEW PROPOSALS MUCH LESS PRODUCE MEANINGFUL REPORTS TO PLENARY
BY DECEMBER 16 WHEN THEY GO OUT OF EXISTENCE. EASTERN DELS HAVE NOT
AS YET SIGNALLED READINESS TO ENTER INTO DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS
THAT WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE IT IS POSSIBLE TO TELL WHETHER A
SUFFICIENTLY BALANCED AND SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS ACHIEV-
ABLE. THIS WEEK'S EVENTS, THEREFORE, MAY HAVE SET STAGE, BUT REAL
PLAY IS PERHAPS ONLY ABOUT TO BEGIN. END COMMENT.

GOLDBERG

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